

What has to be changed is not only the vote that is cast—not even the heart as well as the vote—but also the mental climate in which Parliament and the Government both live and work. The atmosphere of politics has to be transformed before the necessary revolution can be achieved. "We realised, more vividly than most of our colleagues, that, at any late in Britain, political Party, however 'politically' its composition, and however active its sympathies, could ever carry far-reaching reforms in Parliament by the support of the members whom it controlled, or even of its sympathisers at elections. Nothing of importance, we thought, could be effected in social transformation unless public opinion generally, and all the other Parliamentary Parties, had been prolonged 'education,' to entertain and consider definite and detailed projects—even when they were continuing, with apparent determination, to offer to them the most uncompromising opposition. Hence the work of the Fabian Society has been carried out openly and without the least concealment—persistently but along two separate lines. To the politicians who distrust from time to time to notice us, we presented simultaneously. On the one hand, as we frankly told them, we worked continuously for a new and powerful Labour Party, into which we threw their energy. On the other hand, the Society strove as continuously, with the aid of all its members, to devote themselves to this work, to persuade all sections of public opinion, and all political Parties, of the advantages of the social and economic reforms into which we were perpetually translating and retranslating the abstract Socialism that we preached."

Shaw puts a similar view with characteristic pungency in the "peroration" of his *Early History of the Fabian Society*—

"Whilst our backers at the polls are counted by tens we must continue to crawl and drudge and lecture as best

we can, when
 they are counted by hundreds we can permeate
 and tnm and
 compromise When they rise to tens of
 thousands, we shall
 take the field as an independent party Give us
 hundicds of
 thousands, as you can if you try hard enough, and
 we \\ill ude
 the whirlwind and direct the stoim "

In the 'eighties, the backers rose, at best,
 from tens to
 hundreds If permeation was, at this stage,
 applied mainly

Martin's Review, February 1929